

## THE PĀLI APADĀNA COLLECTION

The *Apadāna* is a collection<sup>1</sup> of stories (*apadāna-s*<sup>2</sup>) written in verse, most of which are ascribed to, and deal with the lives of, Buddhist elder monks (*thera-s*) and nuns (*therī-s*). These elders are acknowledged as direct disciples (*sāvaka-s*, lit. “hearers”) of Gotama Buddha who had been members of his monastic community, the *saṅgha*, for more than ten years. It is a long and unwieldy collection consisting of around eight thousand verses<sup>3</sup> distributed among 592 *apadāna-s*, the shortest of which contains fewer than ten verses, the longest over two hundred. It is arranged into four parts: *Buddhāpadāna*, *Paccekabuddhāpadāna*, *Therāpadāna* and *Therī-apadāna*. The first two of these each contain a single eponymous *apadāna* ascribed to Gotama Buddha himself. Although they have identical introductory verses, there is no other connection between the two poems in either style or content, and their connection to the other two parts of the collection is similarly tenuous. In the *Therāpadāna*, verse stories ascribed to 550 elder monks<sup>4</sup> and conforming generally to a standard stylistic pattern are related. These stories are divided between 55 sections (*vagga-s*), each containing ten *apadāna-s*. In the *Therī-apadāna*, forty stories about elder nuns, which also generally conform to the standard *apadāna* pattern, are divided evenly into four sections, each containing ten *apadāna-s*.

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<sup>1</sup> This article on the *Apadāna* is based on the seven manuscripts and three printed editions of the text used in preparing my D.Phil. thesis for Oxford University.

<sup>2</sup> To reduce the number of foreign words in this paper, I have generally given the Pāli terms without Sanskrit equivalents. I have, however, used Sanskrit terms such as *karma* and *nirvāṇa* where they are better known.

<sup>3</sup> The exact number of verses is as yet unestablished due to the corrupt nature of the text.

<sup>4</sup> This figure, which appears to have been settled upon by the majority of modern editors despite inconsistent evidence, will be discussed further below.

While the formal structure of the *Apadāna* text (*Apadāna-pāli* or *Apadāna-pāṭha*) is somewhat problematic, the individual verse stories have a unity of content. The basic theme which underlies all the stories in the collection, with the exception of the *Paccekebuddhāpadāna*, is the efficacy of the law of *karma* (Pāli *kamma*), “effective (deliberate) action, (deliberate) action and its result”. The primary purpose of the *Apadāna* is to explore, within a particular Buddhist framework, the doctrine that good actions based on good intentions bring about good results and bad actions based on bad intentions bring about bad results. The *Critical Pāli Dictionary* describes the *Apadāna* as “tales in verse about the past *karma* of Buddhist saints”.<sup>1</sup> In the *apadāna*-s of the elder monks and nuns, the actions performed and the results obtained are almost always good. The actions described are generally also connected to a secondary theme of aspiration to future *sāvaka*-hood and attainment of *arahant*-ship (*arahatta*, “perfection”); the resulting liberation from the cycle of *saṃsāra*, “continuing existence”, was the central concern of the Buddha’s teaching. The *Apadāna* can thus be placed within the genre of didactic or homiletic literature in which stories are used to illustrate and interpret doctrinal points, particularly for the edification of pious lay people. The collection is regarded as belonging to the scriptural literature of the Theravādin Pāli canon by Buddhists in countries such as Myanmar (formerly Burma), Sri Lanka and Thailand. Like its structure, however, the place of the *Apadāna* in the fixed canon of sacred texts handed down by the orthodox Theravāda tradition of the Mahāvihāravāsins, and in Buddhist literature as a whole, is problematic. These problems will be discussed below.

<sup>1</sup> CPD I p. 267.

The term *apadāna*, like the corresponding Sanskrit term *avadāna*, has often been translated as “glorious, noble or heroic deed”.<sup>1</sup> With this meaning, the term is derived from the Sanskrit verbal root *ava√dai*, “to purify, cleanse”, and thence from the adjectival form *avadāta*, “pure, excellent”. Most of the poems in the Pāli collection are indeed concerned with meritorious and pious former actions of the elder monks and nuns to whom they are attributed. It seems probable, however, that this meaning came to be imputed to the term as a result of the nature of such stories in the Pāli *Apadāna* and those in the major early Sanskrit *avadāna* collections, the original meaning being thereby superseded and obscured. Paul Mus, speaking about the Indian influence on local beliefs in the ancient South-East Asian kingdom of Champa, sounded a warning note which I think is relevant here, if for the word “belief” is substituted “collection”. He remarked: “The way in which a belief is described and explained once it is formed, and the origins which are attributed to it at that stage, are necessarily different from the way in which it was invented and from its real origins”.<sup>2</sup>

The word *apadāna* occurs in the title of one of the discourses (*sutta*-s) in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the first collection of the *Sutta Piṭaka* section of the Pāli canon, which contains the long sermons attributed to Gotama Buddha. The Buddha is said to have preached the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*The Great Discourse on the Lineage*)<sup>3</sup> to a group of monks as a “sermon on the subject of past states [of existence]”.<sup>4</sup> It deals with the lives of seven buddhas, Gotama and the six buddhas who immediately preceded him, and is concerned only to describe the events of the final

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. MW p. 99; Winternitz p. 152; Norman p. 89, and Khoroché’s Introduction to his translation of the *Jātakamāla* p. xiv. See also Handurukande’s Introduction to the *Mañicuḍāvadāna* pp. xx–xxii.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Mus p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> D II 1–54 (= D XIV). Translation THIH pp. 199–221; I have used Walshe’s translation of the title. See also Norman p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> D II 2,6–7: *pubbenivāsapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ dhammiṃ katham*.

lifetime of each, during which enlightenment (*bodhi*, “awakening”) was attained and buddhahood achieved. Through the detailed story of the first in this set of seven buddhas, Vipassī, a pattern is established to which the lives of all buddhas, including Gotama, conform. The only differences lie in personal details such as the time and situation in which they were born and attained enlightenment, and the names of the people closely associated with them. In describing this particular set of lives, Gotama Buddha appears to have been attempting to establish an authority for himself as realiser and teacher of the doctrine, the *dhmma*, by reference, not to his own past lives, but to the lives of buddhas from the past. The stories in this *sutta*, in that they celebrate success in the search for enlightenment and the subsequent establishment of a system of instruction (*sāsana*), could certainly be called “stories of glorious deeds”, supporting the popular understanding of the term *apadāna*. They are, however, very different in purpose from those related in the *Thera-* and *Therī-apadāna*-s, in which events from the past lives of the elder monks and nuns are linked karmically to their own lives at the time of Gotama Buddha. It is this which makes the use of the term *apadāna* unusual in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* rather than its connection with the Buddha, as has been suggested elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

There are indeed a number of texts besides the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* in which the word *apadāna* is associated with the Buddha and in which his past lives as a *bodhisatta*, “future buddha”, are described in order to explain the events of his final life and his attainment of buddhahood. The *Buddhāpadāna* itself contains the story of a deed performed in one of Gotama’s past lives which is linked to his triumphant final life. Norman points out that the use of the word *apadāna* in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* resembles that of the word *avadāna* in the colophons of many of the chapters in the *Mahāvastu*.<sup>2</sup> This Sanskrit

<sup>1</sup> Norman p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Norman p. 24.

work is a collection of stories (based on a recension of the *Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin Vinaya*) which illustrates the virtues of Gotama Buddha, often by reference to his past lives. There are many Sanskrit *avadāna*-s which relate exploits performed by Gotama in previous births, a number of them contained in verse collections known as *avadānamāla*-s, “garlands of *avadāna*-s”. Two canonical Pāli texts apart from the *Buddhāpadāna* refer to themselves as *apadāna*-s of the Buddha (*buddhāpadāna*-s): the *Pubbakammapiḷoti apadāna*, which is also included in the *Apadāna* collection, and the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, which is the fifteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* collection and which is described in its colophon as *buddhāpadāniyam*.<sup>1</sup> In each of these texts, aspects of the final life and character of Gotama are explained through their connection with actions performed by him in former lives. It is this way of using “past lives”, exemplified particularly in the poetic extended autobiographies of elder monks and nuns which comprise the major part of the *Apadāna* collection, which should be recognised in any interpretation of the term *apadāna*.

The usage of the word *apadāna* in another *sutta* from the *Dīgha Nikāya* provides an earlier and more relevant derivation than that previously considered. The word occurs twice in the *Aggañña Sutta* (*The Discourse on Knowledge of Beginnings*),<sup>2</sup> in the course of which the Buddha tells a story about the origin of our world. In this context, *apadāna* is used with the meaning of “cutting (in an agricultural sense) or reaping”: “and where it [rice] was reaped, it did not grow again, and the cut place showed”.<sup>3</sup> Here the term is derived from the Vedic Sanskrit

<sup>1</sup> Cp 37,2. I.B. Horner translates this as “Heroic Stories of the Buddha” in *Basket of Conduct* p. 50,10–11.

<sup>2</sup> D III 80–98 (= D XXVII). Translation, THIH pp. 408–15; I have used Walshe’s translation of the title. A comparatively late date for this *sutta* is suggested in Norman pp. 41–42.

<sup>3</sup> D III 90: *lūnaṃ pi na ppaṭivirūḷhaṃ apadānaṃ paññāyittha*. Translation, THIH p. 412,21–22.

verbal root *ava* √do, “to cut, break off, divide”, and is used in the sense *avakhaṇḍane*, “cutting off, reaping”.<sup>1</sup> There are many examples in the Buddha’s teachings of his redefining terms from the society in which he lived, which was dominated by the brahminical religion and its ideology. There are, in particular, numerous examples of his use of agricultural terms, the meanings of which he altered and extended within the framework of his message. In the *Kasibhāradvāja Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*,<sup>2</sup> for example, the Buddha explains to the brahmin Kasibhāradvāja that he too ploughs and sows, with faith as his seed and wisdom as his yoke and plough. Again, in a passage from the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, the fourth collection of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, the Buddha says: “*karma* is the field, consciousness the seed, craving the moisture [making the seed grow]”.<sup>3</sup>

As has been noted above, the basic theme of all but one of the *apadāna*-s in the Pāli collection is the working of *karma*. The image of reaping is particularly applicable to this doctrine and, as Norman points out in this connection,<sup>4</sup> there is a complementary metaphorical usage of the words “sowing” and “reaping” in English. The interpretation of the term as “(one’s) reapings” enables us to understand the *apadāna*-s as stories to illustrate the reaping in a present life of the fruit (*phala*) or result of good or bad deeds performed in the past. The entry for the word *apadāna* in the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*<sup>5</sup> provides a possible sequence for the development of an idiomatic sense of the word as “exploit, result, work” without, however, indicating the connection with the doctrinal theme of *karma* which is basic to the *apadāna* type of literature. In his work on Sanskrit *avadāna*-s, Strong often translates the word *avadāna*

as “karmic history” or “karmic biography”. In an article on *avadāna* specialists, he quotes a verse from the tenth chapter of the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā* which reveals the concern of the compilers of the Sanskrit *avadāna* collections with the theme of *karma*: “‘From dharmic action beings obtain bliss. From evil action they are allotted suffering. From mixed action they come to enjoy mixed fruits.’ Thus spake the *avadānist*”.<sup>1</sup> In his recent book on the monk Upagupta, whom he regards as the “patron-saint” of the *avadāna* specialists, Strong defines *avadāna* (which he equates with *apadāna*) as: “a genre of Buddhist story usually showing the workings of karma through the deeds of ordinary individuals”.<sup>2</sup>

This consideration of *apadāna*-s as karmic biographies, in which the present is explained through the description of events from past lives, is reflected in modern usage of the term to denote “history, life-story, biography (especially of a religious figure)” in Sri Lanka and Thailand. This is reflected in titles such as the *Kālapavattikathā Therāpadāna*, which is that of the recent biography of a renowned Thai monk. It is also consistent with the narrative format of the *apadāna*-s of the elder monks and nuns in the canonical collection, in which success in escaping from the cycle of *samsāra*, “continuing existence”, is linked with former behaviour. While the *Buddhāpadāna* also deals with a past action and its result, it does not completely conform to the standard narrative pattern (discussed below) which is followed, to a greater or lesser degree, in the *Thera*- and *Therī*-*apadāna*-s. Furthermore, the presentation of the karmic connection between the particular pious deed of the Bodhisatta which it describes and its fruit, the attainment of enlightenment, is so understated that it has not always been noticed.<sup>3</sup> We

<sup>1</sup> See CPD I p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> Sn pp. 12–16 (= Sn I,4). Translation GD II pp. 8–10.

<sup>3</sup> A I 223,21–22: *kammaṃ khettaṃ viññāṇaṃ bījaṃ taṇhā sineho*.

<sup>4</sup> EV I p. 133, note on the word *apadāna* in Th 47.

<sup>5</sup> CPD I p. 267.

<sup>1</sup> Strong (1) p. 867.

<sup>2</sup> Strong (2) p. 348 (Glossary).

<sup>3</sup> This appears to be the case in D.L. Barua’s article on the *Buddhāpadāna* and in Bechert (3) pp. 101–2.

have already noted that the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* is concerned simply to describe the glorious final lives of the seven buddhas and does not attempt to explain them by connecting them with their past lives.

There is, however, a type of text, closely linked with the *apadāna* genre, which is particularly concerned to develop karmic links between previous births of Gotama Buddha and episodes in his final life. This is the *jātaka* literature, which includes the canonical *Jātaka* collection of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* and also a large number of “apocryphal” *jātaka*-s, fifty of which comprise the South-East Asian *Paññāsa-jātaka* collection. The non-canonical prose stories of the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, the commentary on the verses of the *Jātaka* collection, are primarily descriptions of the past career of the Bodhisatta and of his fulfillment of the ten perfections (*pāramī*-s, *pāramitā*-s) essential to his attainment of buddhahood.<sup>1</sup> The stories of good deeds performed by him in more than 500 previous human and non-human births<sup>2</sup> are presented as being related by the Buddha in order to explain incidents in his final life. They are introduced by a story of the present (*paccuppannavatthu*) which sets out the circumstances in which the past story came to be told. These are connected with the final linking statement (*samodhāna*) which connects the Buddha and those people close to him in his final life with the events in the story of the past (*atītavatthu*). The *jātaka* stories thus underline a view of the universe characterised by karmic interconnection and progression. They also imply the validity of similar, extended karmic biographies of people other than the Buddha such as those found in the *Thera*- and *Therī*-*apadāna*-s. In his early

<sup>1</sup> This is the number of perfections according to the Theravādin tradition. In the Mahāyāna tradition, six perfections are enumerated.

<sup>2</sup> As with the *Apadāna*, the total number of stories properly included in the *Jātaka* collection is difficult to establish. The PTS edition by Fausbøll contains 547 *jātaka*-s although certain collections from Myanmar and Sri Lanka are said to contain 550.

study of Buddhist Sanskrit literature in Nepal, Mitra classed the *jātaka* as part of the *avadāna* genre: “In fact, the *avadāna* of the Nepalese is the class of which the *Jātaka* is an order. The former treats of the anterior lives of Sākya Buddha as well as of other persons, whereas the latter is confined to Sākya only.”<sup>1</sup>

The *apadāna* stories of the elder monks and nuns are introduced by a story of the past which describes a meritorious action generally, although not necessarily, one performed in honour of a former buddha or paccekabuddha. Those stories which conform to the ideal *apadāna* pattern show this pious action to have been instigated by faith and by the desire to attain a senior position in the monastic order of a future Buddha, and include a prophecy concerning the successful achievement of the goal. The aspirant is, by his or her action, established in a career directed at the attainment of the desired position and, in many *apadāna*-s, descriptions of intermediate births illustrate his or her progress towards the goal and link the past story to that of the present. The story of the present is concerned with the fulfillment of the aspiration and the consequent achievement of *arahant*-ship in the time of Gotama Buddha, as a member of his *saṅgha*.

The *apadāna* of the elder nun Paṭācārā (ThiAp 20) contains all the features of a completely developed *apadāna* and connects her, in both past and present lives, with six other women, five of whom also became nuns in Gotama’s *saṅgha* and attained *arahant*-ship. It contains two stories of past lives, the first set in the distant past during the time of Padumuttara Buddha. She reveals that she acquired faith in that buddha after hearing him preach, and was then inspired by his establishment of a certain nun as foremost among those who know the *Vinaya* by heart to make a mental resolve to attain a similar position in the future. This

<sup>1</sup> Mitra (Introduction) p. xli.

resolve was followed by an act of alms-giving (*dāna*) in honour of Padumuttara Buddha, and by a verbal aspiration in his presence for the position she desired. The former buddha then prophesied that she would obtain her wish in the future, as a disciple (*sāvikā*) of Gotama Buddha. For the rest of that life she served him with devotion, as a result of which she was born in a later life as one of seven daughters of the King of Kāsi who served Kassapa Buddha continuously for twenty thousand years while living the household life. The story of the final birth of Paṭācārā is well-known from a variety of sources, including the commentaries on the *Therīgāthā* and the *Dhammapada*. According to the tradition, she became mad with grief following the deaths of her husband, children, parents and brother but was consoled by Gotama Buddha and admitted to the community of nuns. As a nun, she quickly attained *arahant*-ship and was declared by the Buddha to have achieved the foremost position for which she had aspired so many aeons before.

The *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna*, despite its place in the collection, is not truly an *apadāna* and its inclusion is anomalous, reflecting the doctrinal motives of the compiler of the *Apadāna* rather than the nature of the poem itself. Although it is not formally an *apadāna* of the Buddha, the *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna* is said to have been related by Gotama Buddha “for the purpose of explaining the doctrine”.<sup>1</sup> However, this attribution and the set of introductory verses which are almost identical to those in the *Buddhāpadāna*, cannot disguise the fact that the *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna* was deliberately composed around the verses of another canonical work in order to complete the creation of a formal structure for the *Apadāna* collection. As part of his answer to the elder monk Ānanda’s request for information about paccekabuddhas, the Buddha quotes the whole of the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*. This poem is the third in the *Suttanipāta* collection although there is no indication in the *sutta* itself

<sup>1</sup> PBAp v. 57: *dharmavijānanattham*.

that the verses are to be connected with paccekabuddhas.<sup>1</sup> While the *Apadāna* commentary states that the Buddha recited the *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna* because “the resolve and aspiration of the Buddhas is known, likewise [the resolve and aspiration] of the *sāvaka*-s, but [that] of the paccekabuddhas is not known”,<sup>2</sup> these verses do not deal with resolves or aspirations. Furthermore, there is no attempt in either the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* or the *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna* to develop causal connections between the past and present lives of even a single paccekabuddha, or to karmically explain the achievement of *pacceka*-enlightenment (*paccekabodhi*) and thereby provide a model of effective behaviour.

Former studies of the *Buddhāpadāna* have concentrated on the unusual features it possesses, which distinguish it in the context of Theravādin canonical literature, rather than on its place within the *Apadāna* collection. It does appear from the beginning of this poem that it may have originated in a separate collection of *apadāna*-s of the Buddha,<sup>3</sup> and Saddhatissa refers to a Laotian collection containing a text called the *Buddhāpadāna* which was transmitted as an independent work.<sup>4</sup> However, despite its distinctive features, it is the features which link the *Buddhāpadāna* with the other poems in the *Apadāna* collection which are relevant in this discussion. After the introductory verses, which establish the circumstances in which the *Buddhāpadāna* was related and link this poem with the two others in the collection attributed to the Buddha, the *apadāna* itself begins with a statement by the Buddha

<sup>1</sup> The connection with paccekabuddhas is made in the *Culla Niddesa* and in the closing verses of the *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna*. See also Norman p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Ap-a 139,6–7: *buddhānaṃ patthanā ca abhinīharo ca dissati tathā sāvakanāṃ paccekabuddhānaṃ na dissati*.

<sup>3</sup> In BA p. 5 the Buddha instructs his audience to listen “to the *apadāna*-s of the Buddha/buddhas” (*buddhāpadānāni*) and the significance of the use of the plural here requires investigation.

<sup>4</sup> Saddhatissa (2) p. 328.

that he made a resolve for buddhahood under previous buddhas.<sup>1</sup> The past story in this *apadāna* is unusual in that it deals with an episode from a former life in which the Bodhisatta was close to the end of his path to buddhahood and it describes a mental rather than a physical offering performed as an act of homage. The Buddha describes how he mentally created a jewelled mansion, filled with countless numbers of buddhas, paccekabuddhas and “disciples of the Conquerors” (*jinasāvaka*) and located within a glorious buddha-field (*buddha(k)khetta*), as a pious action. It is apparent that, just as the physical acts of piety described in the *apadāna*-s of the elder monks and nuns reflect the capabilities of the beings performing the actions, the act of pious visualisation described in the *Buddhāpadāna* reflects the advanced spiritual attainments and meditative skills of the Bodhisatta and is thus an appropriate offering from a being near the end of the path to enlightenment. Significantly, when the Buddha relates the result of this action, he uses the same formulaic verse as that found in the *apadāna*-s of elder monks and nuns: “By reason of that well-done deed and the aspirations of [my] will, on leaving my human body I went to the Tāvātimsa heaven”.<sup>2</sup> The *Buddhāpadāna* thus contains many of the features associated with an ideal *apadāna* although, interestingly, the story of the Bodhisatta’s first resolve for buddhahood, and the prophecy concerning his successful attainment of that resolve, are actually found in the *apadāna* of the elder nun Yasodharā.<sup>3</sup>

The *apadāna* genre does not deal solely with noble or glorious deeds and their fruit and may also deal with the effects of bad or evil deeds when this is necessary for the provision of a complete karmic explanation of an individual’s biography. As the anonymous author of

<sup>1</sup> BAp v. 4: *ahaṃ pi pubbabuddhesu buddhattaṃ abhipatthayim.*

<sup>2</sup> BAp v. 53: *tena kammaṇa sukatenā cetanāpaṇidhīhi ca/jahitvā mānusaṃ dehaṃ tāvatimsaṃ agacch’ ahaṃ.*

<sup>3</sup> *Yasodharā therī apadāna* vv. 49–59.

the commentary on the *Apadāna*, the *Visuddhajanavilāsini*, makes clear in his treatment of the *Pubbakammaṇipiloti-apadāna* (discussed below): “the stories about bad karma and bad effects are part of the same story which tells of good karma and good effects”.<sup>1</sup> The *Upālitttherāpadāna* (ThAp 6) is the first in the collection to contain both an aspiration and a prophecy, and the first to completely conform to the standard *apadāna* pattern. It is one of the longer poems in the collection, incorporating two stories concerning past lives as well as containing two lengthy passages which are irrelevant in the context of the elder monk’s karmic biography. However, while the first story of the past concerns his performance of an act of homage towards Padumuttara Buddha, the second relates to an existence in which he committed an offence against a Buddha. According to his *apadāna*, Upāli was inspired to perform an act of homage towards Padumuttara Buddha as a means of achieving birth at the time of Gotama Buddha and pre-eminence among the monks in his monastic community who know the *Vinaya* by heart. Padumuttara Buddha prophesied that, after enjoying countless births in pleasurable states of existence, he would achieve his aspiration and realise his goal. The second story of the past is introduced by an assertion by the elder monk that he has achieved the goal upon which he was resolved, and has arrived at perfection in the *Vinaya*.<sup>2</sup> He then describes an occasion when, as an arrogant prince named Candana, he caused the elephant on which he was riding to harass a powerful buddha. Although he immediately regretted this act and was forgiven by the buddha, Upāli was born as a lowly barber in his final life as a result of the offence. That this inferior birth did not prevent him from attaining *arahant*-ship and *nirvāṇa* demonstrates that the attainment of perfection is possible even to those who fall short of perfection along the way, providing encouragement for those who are setting out on the path to *arahant*-ship. It also reinforces the Buddhist view that it is the moral

<sup>1</sup> Walters (1) p. 88, paraphrasing Ap-a 114,21–23.

<sup>2</sup> *Upālitttherāp.* v. 109: *so me attho anuppatto vinaye pāramiṃ gato.*

quality of one's acts, rather than one's social position, which is ultimately significant.

Although the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna* is described as a *buddhāpadāna*, its connection with the Buddha is obscured by its placement within the *Therāpadāna* where it is designated as ThAp 390.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this poem was originally linked in some way with the *Buddhāpadāna*, and the two poems are considered together in the commentary on the *Apadāna*. The reason for the anomalous placement of this *apadāna* may reflect the problematic nature of its subject matter: the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna* is concerned solely with bad deeds and their karmic fruit. It describes unskilful actions performed by the Buddha in former existences which remained karmically effective after he had mastered the perfections, most bearing fruit after his attainment of enlightenment. The Buddha is said to have related this *apadāna* in order to provide karmic explanations for specific unpleasant events which affected him in his final life, references to which can be found embedded in the canonical literature. The *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna* begins with two introductory verses in which the setting of the poem is established, a feature which links this *apadāna* with both the *Buddhāpadāna* and the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna*. While this feature further distances the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna* from the other poems in the *Therāpadāna*, its setting, near Lake Anotatta (Skt *Anavatapta*), does link it with the Sanskrit text known as the *Anavataptagāthā*,<sup>2</sup> which is part of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* section of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* and which contains a poem corresponding to the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna*. Bechert, who takes this as an indication that the Pāli *apadāna* is derived from a recension of the *Anavataptagāthā*, points out that the poem which precedes the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna*, the *Soṇakoṭṭivīsatharāpadāna* is also set at Lake Anotatta, and that its verses are almost identical to

<sup>1</sup> It is ThAp 387 in the PTS edition of the *Apadāna*.

<sup>2</sup> This text is called the *Pañcāsatasthvirāvadāna* in Lamotte p. 692.

those attributed to the elder monk Koṭṭivimṣa in the Sanskrit text.<sup>1</sup> In the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna*, former unskilful actions performed by the Buddha in twelve previous lives are concisely described, the causal connections between the deeds and their fruit being clearly and succinctly drawn. According to one verse: “[In another former birth] I was a doctor. I administered a purge [which was unnecessary] to the son of a wealthy merchant. As the fruit of that action, I have suffered from diarrhoea [in this life]”.<sup>2</sup>

D.L. Barua points out the stylistic connections between the *apadāna* and *jātaka* genres thus: “The Apadāna, ascribed to the Theras and Therīs, connect the past existence of these Theras and Therīs with the present. Thus, they display at least the two main characteristics of the Jātakas or Birth-stories of the Buddha, namely, the narration of the past life by the Thera or Therī concerned and the identification of the present hero or heroine with the past”.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, as in the commentary on the *Jātaka* collection, some of the poems of the *Thera-* and *Therī-apadāna*-s reveal links between individuals and groups of elder monks and nuns in both their former and their final lives. Examples include the *apadāna*-s of the elder nuns Paṭācārā and Dhammadinnā and that of the elder monk Upāli, in which he is inspired by Padumuttara Buddha's prophecy that an ascetic named Sunanda will, in a future life, be “a disciple of the Teacher [Gotama Buddha], named Puṇṇamantāniputta”.<sup>4</sup> In the *apadāna* of the elder nun Yasodharā, links between the Bodhisatta and herself during countless former births (also established in many *jātaka* stories) are

<sup>1</sup> Bechert (1) pp. 10–11. I am most grateful to Regina Neumann for translating this article into English for me. See Hofinger (1) pp. 207–10 and ThAp 389 v. 15: *thero koṭṭiviso soṇo bhikkhusaṅghassa aggato/ pañhaṃ puṭṭho viyākāsi anotate mahāsare ti*.

<sup>2</sup> ThAp 390 v. 28: *tikicchako ahaṃ āsiṃ seṭṭhiputtaṃ virecayim/ tena kammavipākena hoti pakkhandikā mama*.

<sup>3</sup> D.L. Barua p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> *Upālittherāp.* v. 14: *mantāniputto punṇo ti hessatī satthu sāvako*.



stressed, as is their connection in the birth in which he attained enlightenment and she *arahant*-ship. The close connection between the *apadāna* and *jātaka* literary types is also illustrated by the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. As we have noted above, and as I.B. Horner briefly discusses in the Preface to her translation of the text,<sup>1</sup> the *Cariyāpiṭaka* refers to itself as an *apadāna* of the Buddha. It is, however, largely based upon the *Jātaka* collection, each of the thirty-five stories it contains describing an action performed in a former life by the Bodhisatta in pursuance of his aim to master the *pāramitā*-s.

The perfections, which are the subject of four verses in the *Buddhāpadāna* (vv. 73–76), are first named in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the text which is placed between the *Apadāna* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka* in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* and which appears to belong also to the *jātaka* genre. The central concern of the *Buddhavaṃsa* is to present a cosmic history of Gotama Buddha from the standpoint of the mental aspirations (*pañidhāna*-s) and resolutions (*abhinīhara*-s) for buddhahood which he made and the acts of service (*adhikāra*-s) which he performed in relation to the twenty-four buddhas who preceded him. In response, each of those buddhas made a declaration or prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*) that he would succeed in his resolve after aeons of striving to fulfill the ten *pāramitā*-s and achieve the requisite moral purity for the attainment of buddhahood. Through its development of karmic connection and its extension of Gotama's past history, the *Buddhavaṃsa* expands the premise of a buddha-lineage, first presented in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, and parallels the canonical *Jātaka* collection. It is the only Pāli canonical work to formalise the bodhisatta's role and present a developed bodhisatta doctrine of commitment to the arduous path to enlightenment.

<sup>1</sup> *Basket of Conduct* (Preface) p. v. See also the Preface to Cp-a pp. v–vi.

In the *Buddhavaṃsa*, Gotama is linked to previous buddhas by his aspirations and service, and by their prophecies. In the *Thera*- and *Therī*-*apadāna*-s, the elder monks and nuns are similarly linked to former buddhas and to Gotama, although their aspirations are for *sāvaka*-hood and *arahant*-ship rather than buddhahood. The idea that purposive thought can affect future existence is expounded in one of the *sutta*-s of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the second collection of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, comprising the medium-length discourses attributed to, or approved by, the Buddha. In the *Samkhāruppattisutta* (*The Discourse on Rebirth through Aspiration*), the Buddha describes the efficacy of aspiration or purposive thought (*saṃkhāra*<sup>1</sup>) as a means by which a person endowed with certain qualities can obtain a specific rebirth or even freedom from rebirth. Although not all the *apadāna*-s in the Pāli collection are fully developed according to the standard pattern, most are histories of the undertaking to be a disciple of a future buddha. The colophon of the *Visuddhajanavilāsinī* refers to itself as: *Buddha-Paccekabuddha-Sāvakattherassa apadānaṭṭhakathā*.<sup>2</sup> The *apadāna*-s of the elder monks and nuns detail the services performed to fulfil their commitment, and report the achievement, in the time of Gotama Buddha, of the success prophesied for them by the buddha or other person before whom their aspiration was made. The commentary on the verses of the elder monk Vaṅḡsa (*Vaṅḡsa-gāthā*) includes the following statement: “elder monks who have *apadāna*-s (*sāpadānā therā*), like those included in the *Apadāna*, are those who have an *apadāna*, technically called a disciple-perfection (*sāvaka-pāramitā*), which is set in motion by a meritorious action performed for former buddhas, paccekabuddhas or disciples of a

<sup>1</sup> The commentary explains *saṃkhāra* as being equivalent to *patthānā*, “aim, wish”. See I.B. Horner's Introduction to her translation of the *Majjhima Nikāya* where she notes this as being an unusual meaning of the term, and her note on the translation of the title of this discourse in MLS III p. 139, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ap-a 571,11–12.

buddha”.<sup>1</sup> The concept of a disciple-perfection, complementing the ten perfections of a buddha, is found in the *Nidhikaṇḍasutta* (*The Treasure-Store Discourse*) of the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the first book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*.<sup>2</sup> This discourse, which is, however, the only one in the *Khuddakapāṭha* not found elsewhere in the Pāli canon, contains the verse: “Discrimination, liberations, perfection of disciples too, and both kinds of enlightenment: all that is got by merit’s grace”.<sup>3</sup>

The term *sāvakaṭṭhā* does not occur in the *Apadāna*, although the concept is implicit in the poems of the collection, reinforcing its close connection to the *jātaka* genre and supporting B.M. Barua’s belief that: “the *Apadāna* may be regarded as a supplement to the *Buddhavaṃsa* in the sense that it adds the accounts of the Theras and Theris on the lines of the Great Legend (*Mahāpadāna*) of the Buddhas”.<sup>4</sup> It should also be noted that the term *sāvikaṭṭhā* is not used in the corresponding passage in the commentary on the *Therīgāthā*, where it is stated that elder nuns who have *apadāna*-s: “are those who have an *apadāna*, technically called a performance of service (*katādhikāratā*)”.<sup>5</sup> The term *adhikāra*, “service”,<sup>6</sup> does occur in the *Apadāna*, notably in a

<sup>1</sup> Th-a II 216,20–21 (= PTS ed. III 204,28–31): *yesaṃ hi purimesu sammā-sambuddhesu pacceka-buddhesu buddhasāvakesu ca puññakiriyavasena pavattitaṃ sāvakaṭṭhāsaṅkhātāṃ atthi apadānaṃ te sāvakaṭṭhā seyyathāpi apadānapāliyaṃ āgatā therā*.

<sup>2</sup> The problematic canonical status of Khp is discussed in Norman pp. 31–32 and 57–58.

<sup>3</sup> Khp 7,31–32 (= Khp VIII 15): *paṭisambhidā vimokkhā ca yā sāvakaṭṭhā paccekabodhi buddha-bhūmi sabbā etena labhati*. I have used Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli’s translation of the title and of this verse in *Minor Readings* p. 9,36–39.

<sup>4</sup> B.M. Barua p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> This passage is found in the commentary on the *Sumedha-therīgāthā*, Thī-a 225,16–18 (= PTS edition 297,11–15).

<sup>6</sup> *Adhikāra* is a common brahminical term in the meaning “entitlement”. In the brahminical religion, a specific *adhikāra* is the prerequisite for the performance of any religious action. In Buddhism, *adhikāra* used in the sense of “service” was

section of twelve verses in the *Yasodharā-therī-apadāna* (vv. 72–83) in which she describes her service to innumerable buddhas, pacceka-buddhas and sāvakas. The demonstration in the *apadāna* literature of the importance of service as a prerequisite for progress on the *sāvaka* path led B.M. Barua to write: “The doctrine upheld in the *Apadāna* is what may be technically called the *Adhikāravāda*”,<sup>1</sup> and to propose both that this implied a common date for the composition of the *Apadāna*, *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* and that it represented a further connection between them in literary and philosophical terms.

Evidence supporting the consideration of these three texts as a group is available in the commentarial works of the great fifth century scholar Buddhaghosa, whose analysis of the Pāli canon established its authoritative form according to the tradition of the Ceylon Mahāvihāravāsins. In his commentaries, Buddhaghosa lists several ways of analysing the Buddha’s word (*buddhavacana*), the usual classification being its division into nine constituent parts or “limbs” (*aṅga*-s). This classification, which does not include *apadāna*, appears to refer to types of text rather than to specific canonical books and divides the Buddha’s word thus: *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ gāthaṃ udānaṃ itivuttakaṃ jātakam abbhutadhammaṃ* and *vedallaṃ*.<sup>2</sup> Certain books are mentioned, however, in Buddhaghosa’s explanation of the nine terms. The *Apadāna* is not one of the books referred to by name and, despite its links with the *jātaka* class, it was apparently included in the *veyyākaraṇa* class which was explained thus by Buddhaghosa: “The whole of the *Abhidharma Piṭaka*, *suttas* which contain no stanzas and any other (sayings from the)

made the only valid *adhikāra*, in the sense of “prerequisite”, for spiritual progress.

<sup>1</sup> B.M. Barua p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Sp 28,4–7. This way of classifying the Canon is described in detail in Lamotte pp. 141–45.

word of the Buddha not included in the other eight Aṅgas should be known as the Veyyākaraṇa (Expositions)".<sup>1</sup>

The vast size of the body of Buddhist teaching was responsible for problems, not only of arrangement and classification, but also of accurate transmission, even after the Pāli canon was first written down, some time during the first century B.C.E. Following the rehearsal of the Buddha's teaching at the first communal recitation (*saṅgīti*) held, according to all Buddhist traditions, soon after the Buddha's death, it appears that a system of specialist reciters, *bhāṇaka*-s, was established in order to preserve the texts agreed to be part of the *buddhavacana*. The *bhāṇaka*-s were responsible for memorising and transmitting particular parts of the canon, and the commentaries contain references to *bhāṇaka*-s of the first four *nikāya*-s. A single reference to *Khuddaka-bhāṇaka*-s occurs in the post-canonical text, the *Milinda-pañha*.<sup>2</sup> Buddhaghosa describes the *Apadāna* as the thirteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*,<sup>3</sup> but he also records the conflicting views of the *Dīgha*- and *Majjhima-bhāṇaka*-s with regard to this arrangement. The *Majjhima-bhāṇaka*-s are said to have held that the monks at the first communal recitation recited fourteen texts which they called the *Khuddaka-gantha* and included in the *Suttanta Piṭaka*. The texts — *Jātaka*, *Mahā*- and *Cūla-niddesa*, *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *Suttanipāta*, *Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Theragāthā*, *Therīgāthā*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, *Apadāna* and *Buddhavaṃsa* — are the same as those given by Buddhaghosa for the *Khuddaka Nikāya* with the single omission of the *Khuddakapāṭha*. The *Dīgha-bhāṇaka*-s omitted not only the *Khudda-kapāṭha* but also the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, *Apadāna* and *Buddhavaṃsa* from their *Khuddakagantha*, which they included in the

<sup>1</sup> Translation of Ps II 106,13–15 in Norman p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Mil 342,1. This text, although probably not traditionally regarded as canonical in Myanmar, is included in the Chatṭhasaṅgīti edition of the *Tipiṭaka*.

<sup>3</sup> Sp 18,12–16.

*Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.<sup>1</sup> This would support the inclusion of the *Apadāna* within the *veyyākaraṇa* class of scripture. The ambiguity concerning the canonical position of the *Apadāna* collection reflects that of the *apadāna* genre, and the classification of the *Dīgha-bhāṇaka*-s further reinforces the close relationship which exists between the *Apadāna* and its neighbouring texts.

The *Apadāna* collection is also closely connected with other books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. B.M. Barua considered that the focus in the *Apadāna* on "acts of piety" links the text not only to its close canonical neighbours but also to the *Vimānavatthu*, the sixth of the *Khuddaka* texts. In his Foreword to the Sinhalese edition of the *Apadāna*, Ven. P. Paññānanda writes: "in terms of the analysis of the teaching and its meaning, the *Apadānapaḷi* comes within the category of the description of *karma* like the *Jātaka*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Petavatthu* and *Vimānavatthu*, etc."<sup>2</sup> B.M. Barua does not appear to have been aware that the *apadāna* genre was not exclusively concerned with pious actions, for he does not refer to the *Petavatthu*, the complementary text to the *Vimānavatthu*. The *Vimānavatthu* contains 83 stories in verse in which gods (*deva*-s) relate former good actions to explain their present enjoyment of life as inhabitants of heavenly mansions (*vimāna*-s). These stories can be compared with a number of *apadāna*-s, including the first five in the *Therāpadāna* collection. The *Petavatthu* contains 51 stories in verse in which a departed one (*peta*) explains the former wicked deed responsible for his or her existence in an unhappy state of rebirth. The use in these texts of the term *vatthu* (Skt *vastu*) to mean "a story, account", corresponds to that in the technical terms denoting the past and present stories of the commentary on the *Jātaka* (the *paccuppannavatthu*

<sup>1</sup> Sv 15,22–29.

<sup>2</sup> *Apadānapaḷi* Part I p. xiii: *dharmārthavibhāga visin jātaka buddhavaṃsa petavatthū vimānavatthu ādiya men kammassakatājñāyeyhi vāṭena apadānapaḷiya*.

and the *atītavatthu*). Fragments of a Turfan manuscript of the Sārvāstivādin *Kṣudrakāgama* indicate that it contained two texts identified as the *Vimānāvadāna* and *Pretāvadāna*. According to Bechert,<sup>1</sup> these are of the same character and based on the same tradition as the Pāli *Vimāna*- and *Peta-vatthu*-s, reinforcing suggestions of a close correspondence between the *avadāna* (and, by implication, *apadāna*) literary types. Indications within the Pāli versions of these texts provide evidence of borrowing from and parallels with the *Jātaka* collection.<sup>2</sup> This further demonstrates the interconnections between the various types of narrative literature concerned with the doctrine of *karma*, and underlines the preponderance of such texts in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*.

The texts which appear on the surface to be most closely related to the *Apadāna* are the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s, the eighth and ninth books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. These are collections of poems (*gāthā*-s, lit. “stanzas”) attributed to or connected with more than three hundred elder monks and nuns, many of which contain descriptions of the religious experiences and attainments of their subjects in their “present” lives. The form and intention of the individual *gāthā*-s and the structure of the collections, however, reveal that the relationship between these books and the *Apadāna* differs from those we have so far considered. While many of the verses in the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s were apparently indiscriminately selected from a large, remembered body of verses associated with specific elder monks and nuns,<sup>3</sup> most of the poems of the *Thera*- and *Therī-apadāna*-s reveal a deliberate process of composition, in accordance with a specific doctrinal intention. The poems

<sup>1</sup> Bechert (2).

<sup>2</sup> Norman pp. 71–72.

<sup>3</sup> The final two poems of the *Therīgāthā*, attributed to the elder nuns Isidāsī and Sumedhā, are notable exceptions, being literary compositions which display many features associated with *apadāna*-s, such as the description of previous births.

in the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s are arranged, like those of the *Jātaka*, according to the number of verses they contain, and a wide range of metres is represented in the collections. A numerical system of arrangement is not followed in the *Apadāna* and it is composed entirely in *śloka* metre, with the exception of the first three verses of the *Buddhāpadāna* and the *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna* which are in *triṣṭubh* metre. The commentaries on the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s make it clear that some of the elder monks and nuns, whose verses are included in the collections, lived after the time of the Buddha. The message developed through the pattern of the lives of the elder monks and nuns in the *Apadāna* is underlined by their all having achieved the goal of birth at the time of Gotama Buddha and, thereby, direct access to his teaching.

The *apadāna*-s are histories of individual careers culminating in such achievements as those celebrated in the *gāthā* collections, and can be seen to provide explanations for those achievements in terms of past conduct. The monk Dhammapāla,<sup>1</sup> who followed the tradition established by Buddhaghosa, based much of his exegesis of the poems in the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s on the *Apadāna* tradition. Where appropriate, the relevant *apadāna* is quoted in its entirety in the commentary, although the attribution is not always accurate, and the elder monks and nuns do not completely overlap in the two collections. The quoted *apadāna*-s appear to have been taken from a different and much older version of the *Apadāna* collection than that currently available, although it is probable that these *apadāna*-s were inserted by scribes after the time of Dhammapāla. Indeed, Woodward gives this as his reason for not including the quoted verses in his edition of the *Theragāthā* commentary, saying: “Looking through the versions [of *apadāna*-s] given in our MSS. I find that they differ in almost every line from those of our P.T.S.

<sup>1</sup> In his review of *Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā Līnatthavaṇṇanā*, L.S. Cousins suggested a possible date of the seventh century for Dhammapāla. Cousins (1) p. 163.

edition, and from each other”.<sup>1</sup> Although the differences are often slight, the versions of the *apadāna*-s inserted in the commentaries on the *gāthā* collections occasionally preserve portions of the text which are no longer included in the *Apadāna* itself. For example, the commentary on the *Mahāmoggallānattheragāthā* quotes two separate versions of the poem preserved in the *Apadāna* collection in its current form.<sup>2</sup> As Bechert points out, however, it is these discrepancies which give the *apadāna*-s quoted in the commentaries their special value.<sup>3</sup>

Müller demonstrated that of the forty *apadāna*-s ascribed to elder nuns, 33 are quoted in the *Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, sometimes with different attributions.<sup>4</sup> The form of the *apadāna*-s, in general, reveals a deliberate process of selection, structuring and restatement similar to that developed and elaborated in the prose commentarial works of the Pāli tradition. Warder considers the *Apadāna* to be “almost a commentary on the Theragāthā”<sup>5</sup> and implies that it was regarded as such at the time of the writing down of the canon. Bechert regards the *apadāna*-s of the elder monks and nuns as being “the verse versions of the pre-birth stories told to the Th and Thī”,<sup>6</sup> and believes that the *apadāna*-s were derived from old commentarial material connected with the *Thera*- and *Therī*-*gāthā*-s. The close links between the *Apadāna* and a wide group of *Khuddaka Nikāya* texts (including but not limited to the *Thera*- and *Therī*-*gāthā*-s) which we have already noted must, however, also be considered in any attempt to define the collection. Although the place of the *Apadāna* in the Pāli canon was not universally accepted before Buddhaghosa, and despite a recent description of the *Buddhāpadāna* as a

<sup>1</sup> PTS edition of Th-a I (Preface) p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Th-a II 173–74 and 191–92.

<sup>3</sup> Bechert (1) p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction to the PTS edition of Thī-a, pp. ix–xi.

<sup>5</sup> *Path of Discrimination* (Introduction) p. xxxviii.

<sup>6</sup> Bechert (1) p. 14.

*Mahāyāna* text,<sup>1</sup> its canonical context should not be disregarded. Norman and D.L. Barua, in describing the *Apadāna* as an “appendix” to the *Thera*- and *Therī*-*gāthā*-s,<sup>2</sup> more accurately reflect its developed and supplementary nature, and acknowledge its canonical attribution.

The construction of legendary biographies for elder monks and nuns reflected not only an expansion of karmic story literature, but also a growing interest in the personalities of the individuals associated with the Buddha; it represents monastic awareness of and response to this interest. Like the *gāthā* collections, the *Thera*- and *Therī*-*apadāna*-s were compiled from a number of sources. Snippets of biographical information and stories concerning a number of elder monks and nuns are found throughout the Theravādin canon. As Brough reminded us: “It has long been understood that the surviving early Buddhist literature is to a large extent secondary and often composite”.<sup>3</sup> The canon did not provide the only material for the author (or authors) of the hagiographies which comprise the *Thera*- and *Therī*-*apadāna*-s, although it is not possible now to identify the extra-canonical sources. The *Apadāna* itself, through presenting a coherent set of biographical references for those elder monks and nuns regarded as perfected disciples, became a source for the homiletic and hagiographic literature of the post-canonical and commentarial traditions. In the Introduction to her translation of the *Therīgāthā*, Mrs Rhys Davids notes that the *apadāna*-s were the end product of a deliberate process of composition: “The canonical *Apadāna*, in its metrical tales of thirty-three of the therīs, reveals their pre-natal legends already grown”.<sup>4</sup> A similar process of selection and composition was used to produce a comprehensive, connected biography for the Buddha himself.

<sup>1</sup> Discussed below.

<sup>2</sup> Norman p. 89 and D.L. Barua p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Brough (Preface) p. xiv.

<sup>4</sup> *Psalms of the Sisters* (Introduction) p. xviii.

Stories such as those which formed the starting point for the composition of developed hagiographies in the Theravādin tradition are also found in the canonical literature of other Buddhist schools, including the *Madhyamāgama* of the Chinese *Sūtra Piṭaka* and the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasārvāstivādins. The majority of texts in the Sanskrit tradition classified the *buddhavaṇṇa* into twelve constituent parts, adding three new categories to the ninefold list. One of the new classes was the *avadāna*,<sup>1</sup> which the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* of the Yogācāra school<sup>2</sup> ascribes to the *Vinaya Piṭaka* together with the *jātaka*. As in the Pāli tradition, it appears that: “the canonical status of the *avadānas* as a genre was fraught with ambiguity”.<sup>3</sup> However, the *avadāna* literature was developed and greatly expanded in the Sanskrit tradition over a considerable period of time, and a huge body of extra-canonical *avadāna* literature came into existence. Many of the Sanskrit *avadāna*-s were compiled in special verse collections, generally known as *avadānamālā*, “garlands of *avadāna*-s”, and they were based on a variety of sources including the early Sanskrit canonical tradition. No comparable expansion occurred with regard to the *apadāna* literature, its function having apparently been assumed by commentarial and extra-canonical literature, so that the *Apadāna* remains the only collection preserving this genre in the Pāli tradition.

The few scholars who have worked on individual *apadāna*-s from the canonical collection have suggested links between them and either non-Theravādin schools of the Śrāvakayāna which used Sanskrit for their literature, or early schools of the Mahayāna. Nakamura says of

<sup>1</sup> The other two additions were the *nidāna* and the *upadeśa*. These are discussed in Lamotte, pp. 145–46.

<sup>2</sup> This treatise is attributed to Asaṅga for whom Paul Williams tentatively ascribes the dates 310–90 C.E. The concordance between the *Tripiṭaka* and the twelve generic constituents is tabulated in Lamotte, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Strong (1) p. 163.

the *avadāna* literature (in which he includes “Pāli *Avadānas*”): “The *Avadāna* texts stand, so to speak, with one foot in the Hīnayāna literature, and the other in the Mahāyāna literature”.<sup>1</sup> As a collection, in the form in which it has come down to us, the *Apadāna* is emphatically Theravādin. It is composed in Pāli, and its constituent poems share many verses, metrical units (*pada*-s) and formulae with other texts of the Theravādin canon. This is, of course, partly a function of the oral nature of early Buddhist literature,<sup>2</sup> and of the “veneration of the religious cliché” which permitted the incorporation of “usable quarters” of existing verses in poetic composition.<sup>3</sup> It also, however, reinforces the Theravādin context of the collection and of its parts. In the final redaction of the *Apadāna*, the individual poems have been deliberately placed within a formal structure which provides them with a specific doctrinal framework. The collection consists of sections containing *apadāna*-s about Gotama Buddha, paccekabuddhas and disciples (*sāvaka*-s) who were members of the Buddha’s monastic community. This structure links the *Apadāna* with the threefold ideal grouping of *sāvaka*, *paccekabuddha* and *sammā-sambuddha* which characterises all the Śrāvakayāna schools including the Theravāda. As noted above, it is apparent that the *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna* was specifically composed in response to the demand that the structure of the *Apadāna* reflect this threefold ideal.

The first formal expression of this set is found in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*,<sup>4</sup> the book immediately preceding the *Apadāna* in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. This is a comparatively late text which was apparently arranged deliberately to set out, in a systematic order, the way

<sup>1</sup> Nakamura p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> On this subject, see e.g. Collins (2), Cousins (2) and Gombrich (2).

<sup>3</sup> Brough (Preface) p. xvii.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Paṭi II 3,23–27. Translation, *Path of Discrimination* p. 210,15–22, where they are listed together in respect of their development of the faculties (*indriyāṇi*).

to Enlightenment preached by the Buddha.<sup>1</sup> It does appear, however, to have been universally accepted as part of the Theravādin canon before the *Apadāna* was so recognised.<sup>2</sup> Experience of the four *paṭisambhidā*-s, “branches of analytical insight”, is included in the formulaic verses descriptive of the attainment of *arahant*-ship which occur at the end of the *apadāna*-s of elder monks and nuns and in some poems in the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s.

In Mahāyāna Buddhism, the ideal of the *arahant* was replaced by that of the *bodhisattva*, and aspiration to the type of enlightenment achieved by a *sāvaka* or a *paccekabuddha* came to be considered as limited and inferior (*hīna*), and as an obstacle on the path to the perfect enlightenment of a *sammāsambuddha*. In the texts of the Pāli canon, the term *bodhisatta* is generally used to refer to Gotama Buddha, in connection with his long period of preparation for buddhahood. As we have seen, the *Buddhāpadāna*, is a text in which Gotama describes an episode from his career as a *bodhisatta*, thus closely linking it to the *jātaka* literature. Although it has been described by Bechert as “a full-fledged Mahāyāna text” within the Theravādin tradition,<sup>3</sup> its goal is not “to recommend to all the *bodhisattva* path aiming at full enlightenment” although this is one of the characteristics of texts belonging to the Mahāyāna.<sup>4</sup> The intention of the author of the *Buddhāpadāna* was to fulfil the requirements of the *apadāna* genre and to explain attainments in the present through the description of an action performed in the past. There is no reference in the poem to any *bodhisatta* other than Gotama, nor are *bodhisatta*-s as a group included among the perfected beings to

<sup>1</sup> Discussed in Warder pp. 312–15.

<sup>2</sup> On the question of the comparative dating of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and its rejection by the Mahāsāṅghikas, see Norman p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Bechert, (2) p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> See the guidelines proposed for determining the classification of a *sūtra* in Skilling p. 143, note 1.

whom he pays homage. D.L. Barua, who considered the *Buddhāpadāna* to be a “striking specimen of early Buddhist poetry”, provided an English translation of it in order to draw attention to its poetic merits. In the article accompanying his translation, he says of the *Apadāna*: “It also divulges the difference between the achievements of a Perfect Buddha, a Pacceka-buddha and a Perfect Disciple, all of whom are arahants”.<sup>1</sup> Thus, while positing the view that the last three books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* are examples of what he calls “Mahāyāna in the Making”, he makes it clear that the basis of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Apadāna* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* is in the doctrines of the non-Mahāyāna tradition.

In his study of Pāli literature, Norman draws attention to the fact that examples of mainland Prakrit features uncommon in Pāli are found in the *Apadāna*, one such feature being particularly associated with the *Buddhāpadāna*.<sup>2</sup> This underlines the eclectic nature of the Pāli collection, although it does not imply a non-Theravādin origin for this *apadāna* or for the collection as a whole. Despite noting the parallels between some of the Pāli *apadāna*-s and poems in the *Anavataptagāthā*,<sup>3</sup> this is not an assumption made by Norman although, as we have seen above, it is the view subscribed to by Bechert, who uses it to explain the anomalous placement of the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna*.<sup>4</sup> Walters also postulates a non-Theravādin origin for the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna*, believing it to be a work of either the Sarvāstivādin or Mahāsāṅghika tradition.<sup>5</sup> It appears more likely, however, that versions of this *apadāna* existed before the division into sects took place, and other similarities between the Pāli *Apadāna* collection and the *Anavataptagāthā* may support this

<sup>1</sup> D.L. Barua p. 183. See also Ven. Saddhatissa’s Introduction to his edition of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*, pp. 16–19.

<sup>2</sup> Norman pp. 91–92.

<sup>3</sup> Norman p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Bechert (1) pp. 11–13.

<sup>5</sup> Walters (1) pp. 77–79.

explanation. Norman also notes the existence of *avadāna*-s in Tibetan and Chinese corresponding to the *Pubbakammapiḷoti-apadāna*, and he deduces that: “the Apadāna was the common property of both Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins”.<sup>1</sup>

Bechert based his identification of the *Buddhāpadāna* as a Mahāyāna text on the presence within it of certain ideas which were particularly developed and emphasised in certain texts of the Mahāyāna tradition. However, concepts such as the transfer of merit (*pattānumodanā*, referred to in three verses of the *Buddhāpadāna*), and the prophecy by an enlightened being of the successful fulfillment of an aspiration (found in most of the *apadāna*-s attributed to elder monks and nuns), were also developed in post-canonical Theravādin literature. The idea of a buddha-field (*buddha(k)khetta*), which is presented in some detail in the *Buddhāpadāna*, is also found in a more elaborate form in the *Mahāvastu*. This Mahāsāṅghika text is formally classified as Śrāvākayāna, despite its inclusion of many proto-Mahāyānist features and its exaltation of the Buddha as a supramundane (*lokottara*) being.<sup>2</sup> While concepts such as these became particularly highly evolved within Mahāyāna doctrine, it is misleading to assume that their presence in a Theravādin text implies an “infiltration” of the Mahāvihāra Theravādin tradition from an external source. Their presence in the *Apadāna* does, however, imply a comparatively late date for its final redaction, and suggests that it was subject to a complex process of accretion and selection before that time.

Bechert proposes a date of the first century B.C.E. for the first version of the *Apadāna* collection, and he suggests both that it underwent several enlargements after that time and that “at least three different versions of the *Apadāna* had existed”.<sup>1</sup> This would coincide with the traditional date given in the Sinhalese chronicles for the writing down of the Pāli canon and its commentaries which they place within the second reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (89–77 B.C.E. according to the chronology accepted by the University of Ceylon<sup>2</sup>). This activity apparently occurred in Ceylon at a time of sectarian monastic rivalry, “when the position of the Mahāvihāra as sole legitimate custodians of Buddhism was under threat”.<sup>3</sup> While the nature of the *Apadāna* collection is such that alteration of the number and placement of its contents was possible even after it had been written down, the framework of the collection is only meaningful in terms of its canonical context. This must, therefore, have been established by the time its scriptural status was accepted and at the time it was written down as one of the canonical texts of the Mahāvihāra tradition. The fact that it does not appear to have possessed a commentary at that time may indicate that it achieved its final form only shortly before it was written down.

Bechert, however, does not believe that the *Buddhāpadāna* formed part of the first version of the *Apadāna*, and he dates its composition to either the first or second century C.E. at approximately the same time as the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, a Mahāyāna text in which the concept of the buddha-field is particularly elaborated. As Gombrich points out, however: “There has long been a general consensus that the earliest surviving Mahāyāna texts go back to the second or first century BC”.<sup>4</sup> Those elements in the *Apadāna* which reflect developments within

<sup>1</sup> Norman p. 92. Scholars including Paul Harrison and Peter Skilling are now studying some of the Chinese and Tibetan texts, and their work will enable effective comparisons to be made between the different versions of this text.

<sup>2</sup> The place of this teaching in terms of the origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism is discussed in Williams pp. 16–20.

<sup>1</sup> Bechert (1) pp. 11–14 and (3) p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I Part II p. 843.

<sup>3</sup> Collins (1) p. 98. See also Adikaram pp. 78–79 and 93–94.

<sup>4</sup> Gombrich (2) p. 29.



Theravādin thought, some of which were further developed and emphasised in Mahāyāna Buddhism, appear to date to approximately this period. By this time, the Buddha's teachings had spread far beyond the original area in which he personally travelled and preached. Warder tentatively dates the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and the *Buddhavaṃsa* to the early late second century B.C.E. and the *Apadāna* to the early first century B.C.E.<sup>1</sup> Both Walters and B.M. Barua consider the *Apadāna*, together with the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, to be a product of the post-Aśokan era, and to date to some time during the second century B.C.E.<sup>2</sup> This view is supported by references in the *apadāna*-s of the elder monk Puṇṇamantāniputta and the elder nun Khemā to the *Kathāvatthu*, the fifth book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.<sup>3</sup> This text is said to have been recited at the third communal recitation, the so-called Council of Pāṭaliputta, in order to refute heretical doctrines, although reference to the text is omitted from the account of this communal recitation in the Chinese recension of the *Samantapāsādikā*.<sup>4</sup> This gathering, which is only mentioned in the Pāli chronicles and commentaries of the Theravādins, and which evidently only concerned them, is said to have taken place during the reign of the Emperor Aśoka (middle third of the third century B.C.E.). The philosophical and mythological content of the poems in the *Apadāna*, and its highlighting of formal aspects of religious behaviour and ritual practice, also uphold the conclusion that it is a post-Aśokan text which was taken to Ceylon before the end of the first century B.C.E. and included in the canonical corpus.

Many legends were constructed by the Buddhist traditions around the person of Aśoka, who has been called "the greatest political

and spiritual figure of ancient India".<sup>1</sup> It is certainly possible, however, that his patronage was responsible for establishing Buddhism over a far wider area than would have been conceivable before the founding of the Mauryan Empire by his grandfather, Candragupta, in around 324 B.C.E. Aśoka is traditionally connected with what Warder refers to as "the popularisation of Buddhism",<sup>2</sup> and with the enthusiastic promotion of religious activities such as pilgrimage and the veneration of relics through the construction of *stūpa*-s and shrines. By the time of Aśoka, not only were the Buddha and his chief disciples long dead, but so too were the monks and nuns who had been ordained and directly taught by them. The Buddha had left his doctrine and the corpus of monastic rules, rather than a person, in his place as the central authority for the religion which he had founded. He had charged his monks with the dissemination of his teachings, a responsibility which entailed the further duties of preservation and interpretation. He is said to have sent out the first sixty monks with the instruction: "Monks, preach the Dhamma, which is lovely at the beginning, in the middle and at the end ... and proclaim the pure religious life (*brahmacariya*)".<sup>3</sup> The doctrine, however, involved "abstract ethics and abstruse concepts",<sup>4</sup> and making it generally accessible was a fundamental and continual problem for the monastic community which was dependent on lay support for its survival in the long term, as well as on a day-to-day basis.

Hallisey notes that summaries and anthologies of the teachings were produced as one response to this problem,<sup>5</sup> and this would appear to provide a plausible motive for the compilation of a number of the collections in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* including the *Apadāna*. According to

<sup>1</sup> *Path of Discrimination* (Introduction) p. xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Walters (2) and B.M. Barua p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> *Puṇṇamantāniputtattherāp.* v. 6 and *Khemātherī-apadāna* v. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Lamotte pp. 272–74.

<sup>1</sup> Lamotte p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Warder chap. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Vin I 21,4–7.

<sup>4</sup> Gananath Obeyesekere, quoted in Obeyesekere (Introduction) p. x.

<sup>5</sup> Hallisey p. 39.

Warder, the movement to spread and popularise Buddhism in the centuries immediately following the death of the Buddha was paralleled by two lines of development in Buddhist literature. These were: the creation and use of new metres in poetry, and the elaboration of many existing narratives which were appended to the *Khuddaka Nikāya* “in order to satisfy the popular demand for stories”.<sup>1</sup> While it is fundamentally true that the Theravādin tradition “is the product of texts composed by, and indeed largely for, monks and nuns”,<sup>2</sup> homiletic texts such as the *Apadāna* were intended to be used by monks and nuns in their role as preachers and transmitters of the Buddhist doctrine. They were thus directed particularly towards lay audiences, although this is not to suggest that they could not have been used in teaching monks and nuns as well. B.M. Barua points out that “the *Apadāna* legends combine by a peculiar mythological device the pious life of a householder with the higher attainments of the recluse, the latter overshadowing the former”.<sup>3</sup> In the *apadāna*-s of the elder nuns Paṭācārā and Dhammadinnā, it is specifically stated that they were forced to remain in the household life “attached to attendance on [Kassapa] Buddha (*buddhopaṭṭhānaniratā*)” in a former life after their father refused to let them become nuns.<sup>4</sup> Storytelling gives an immediacy and concreteness to abstract ideas, in much the same way that the establishment of monuments to mark places connected with the life (historical and legendary) of the Buddha made Buddhism “something physically accessible to the entire population”.<sup>5</sup> As Obeyesekere makes clear: “They [Buddhist stories] have been central to the dissemination of Buddhist values and doctrine”.<sup>6</sup> The corrupt nature of the text of the *Apadāna*, already apparent in its (post-eleventh century)

commentary, suggests that its poems may have been found to be less accessible than the prose narratives based on the *Apadāna* tradition which were included in the commentarial literature. Support for this suggestion may be found in the fact that a thirteenth century *ānisamsa*, “advantage”, text attributed to the thirteenth century Sinhalese monk Siddhattha Porāṇaka Thera, quotes a number of *apadāna*-s from the commentary on the *Theragāthā* rather than from the *Apadāna* itself.<sup>1</sup>

It has been suggested that dramatic performances of texts like the *Apadāna* were presented at religious festivals,<sup>2</sup> but it appears that, at a relatively early date, the *Apadāna* declined in popularity as a preaching text, although parts of it continued to be quoted and used as the basis of stories in prose anthologies. Its homiletic function was apparently taken over by prose narratives such as those in the *Pūjāvaliya*, a thirteenth century collection of stories in Sinhala some of which contain quotes from the *Apadāna* itself. Its author, Mayūrapāda Thera, states that the *Pūjāvaliya* was intended for public recitation, and Pieris and van Geyzel noted that it was still widely employed for that purpose when they translated stories from it into English in the 1960s.<sup>3</sup> The *Apadāna*, however, appears to have stopped being recited and studied and, as a consequence, it was carelessly copied and transmitted. It is also possible that the *apadāna*-s were originally embedded in a prose framework (similar to that found in the *Jātakatṭhavaṇṇanā*) which has not been preserved. Much more work needs to be done on establishing the *Apadāna* text, however, before any firm conclusions can realistically be drawn regarding this question.

<sup>1</sup> Warder p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Gombrich (1) p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> B.M. Barua p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> *Paṭācārātherī-ap.* vv. 16–17 and *Dhammadinnātherī-ap.* vv. 18–19.

<sup>5</sup> Warder p. 267.

<sup>6</sup> Obeyesekere (Introduction) p. x.

<sup>1</sup> This text is incorporated and explained in the *Pasādajanani nāma āvāsadānānisamsavaṇṇanā*, available in an undated edition. Entire *apadāna*-s are quoted in order to illustrate the advantages resulting from specific acts of piety.

<sup>2</sup> Warder pp. 238 and 280–81 and Walters (2) p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Reynolds p. 168.

Unfortunately, the versions of the *Apadāna* which are available to us now reveal that we possess a corrupt and late redaction of the text. The relationship between the extant *Apadāna* and its commentary reflects the generally problematic nature of the text. The *Visuddhajanavilāsini* contains no commentary on the *Therī-apadāna*, although the author does refer to it at the beginning of his commentary, stating that: “the forty *apadāna*-s in the *Therī-apadāna* are grouped in four sections”.<sup>1</sup> It also appears to be based on a version of the text which is longer than that currently accepted as authoritative, containing commentaries on and references to 561 *apadāna*-s in the *Therāpadāna* section. All modern printed editions of the *Apadāna*, except that by Mary Lilley for the Pali Text Society, contain a total of 550 *apadāna*-s attributed to elder monks, although this figure is not supported by the majority of manuscripts I have consulted. The manuscripts, like Lilley’s edition, omit three poems (ThAp 332–34) and thus contain a total of 547 *apadāna*-s, paralleling Fausbøll’s edition of the *Jātaka* collection. These three omitted *apadāna*-s, which are actually referred to in the summary verse (*uddāna*) of the relevant chapter of Lilley’s edition, are all, however, found elsewhere in the collection, as are two of the eleven additional *apadāna*-s preserved in the commentary.<sup>2</sup> In his Foreword to the Sinhalese edition of the *Apadāna*, Ven. P. Paññānanda states that there are 55 sections in the *Therāpadāna* although the edition actually contains 56 sections, due to its inclusion of the nine unduplicated additional *apadāna*-s quoted in the commentary. Similarly, the Burmese and Nālanda editions include all eleven additional *apadāna*-s, and it appears that the editors of these three modern versions have attempted to reconstruct the text with the assistance of the commentary. Each of these additional *apadāna*-s is quoted in the commentary on the *Theragāthā*, and it is possible that these poems were deliberately removed from the collection, some time after the composition

of the *Visuddhajanavilāsini*, by a redactor who wished to underline the correspondence between the *apadāna* stories of the elder monks and the *jātaka* stories of the Buddha. Although Bechert believes that the eleven additional *apadāna*-s were taken from the *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā* by the commentator on the *Apadāna*, he also admits the possibility that the final version of the *Apadāna* was the result of an attempt to match more closely the number of stories in the *Jātaka* collection.<sup>1</sup>

It is not only the corrupt nature of the text which has led to the general lack of scholarly interest in both the *Apadāna* collection and the *apadāna* as a literary genre. The following statement by B.M. Barua reflects the common attitude concerning the text: “the *Apadāna* marks a stage in the growth of the Buddhist creed when the ethical side practically disappeared yielding place to the popular. The result was that the emotional side of the faith devoured its previous rationality”.<sup>2</sup> The “popular” character of the text, deduced from the emphasis in the *Thera*- and *Therī-apadāna*-s on the performance by lay people of ritual actions which resulted in specific and desirable karmic rewards, was noted with disdain. This led to its being regarded as a late corruption, unrepresentative of early Buddhism and untrue to the original teachings of the Buddha, the attempted reconstruction of which has occupied the majority of those involved in the field of Pāli studies. With growing scholarly interest in comparing texts of the various schools and in locating the origins of the Mahāyāna within texts of mainstream Buddhism, this attitude is beginning to change. The *Apadāna* contains descriptions of a wide range of ritual activities including alms-giving, veneration of a Buddha or his relics, the donation of monasteries to the community of monks (and nuns), and the presentation of objects connected with *stūpa*-s. The assurance that such actions are efficacious and will bear the appropriate fruit in the future is upheld in the *apadāna*-s

<sup>1</sup> Ap-a 101,20: *therī-apadānesu cattāḷīsaṃ apadānāni vaggato caturo vaggā*.

<sup>2</sup> See Bechert (1) pp. 15–16. He believes that all the additional *apadāna*-s are duplicates, although this is not strictly true for nine of them.

<sup>1</sup> Bechert (1) pp. 14–15.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Barua p. 179.

of elder monks and nuns. This feature links the *apadāna*-s with the *ānisaṃsa* literature, which Norman classifies as part of the *jātaka* genre.<sup>1</sup> Strong defines it as “a genre of text comprising stories that extoll the advantages of meritorious deeds”,<sup>2</sup> and notes that these texts were composed specifically by monks for the laity. The *Apadāna* commentary includes a passage containing seven verses praising the advantages (*ānisaṃsā*) of Bodhisattas who have made an aspiration for buddhahood,<sup>3</sup> reinforcing the relationship between the two types of text.

The problematic features of the *Apadāna* collection are a result of its composite nature, and reflect the changes and developments in Buddhism in the centuries between the death of the Buddha and the writing down of the Theravādin canon. While a number of individual *apadāna*-s would in themselves be suitable subjects for detailed study, the production of a reliable edition of the text and an accurate English translation of the complete collection and consideration of this fascinating text as a composite whole is a priority.

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### Abbreviations

References to Pāli texts and to grammatical terms generally use the abbreviations of the *Epilegomena* to Volume I of the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*.

Where they do not, the abbreviations preferred are included in the following list of additional abbreviations and signs which have been used above. All Pāli texts with one exception are PTS editions. The Buddha

<sup>1</sup> Norman p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Strong (2) p. 347 (Glossary).

<sup>3</sup> Ap-a 48,16–49,20.

Jayanti (Sinhala script) editions of the commentaries on the *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthā*, in which the quoted *apadāna*-s are given in full, were preferred to the PTS edition.

ap.	<i>apadāna</i>
BAp	<i>Buddhāpadāna</i>
B.C.E.	Before the Common Era
C.E.	Common Era
chap.	chapter
CPD	<i>Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> (Ed. V. Trenckner, Dines Anderson and H. Smith, Copenhagen, 1924–)
EVI	<i>Elders' Verses</i> Volume I (translation, with notes, of the <i>Theragāthā</i> by K.R. Norman, London, 1969)
GDII	<i>Group of Discourses</i> Volume II (translation, with notes, of the <i>Suttanipāta</i> by K.R. Norman, Oxford, 1992)
MLS	<i>Middle Length Sayings</i> 3 volumes (translation of the <i>Majjhima Nikāya</i> by I.B. Horner, London, 1954–59)
MW	Monier-Williams' <i>Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i>
PBAp	<i>Paccakabuddhāpadāna</i>
PED	<i>Pali-English Dictionary</i> (T.W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, London, 1921–25)
PTC	<i>Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance</i>
PTS	Pali Text Society
THIH	<i>Thus Have I Heard</i> (translation of the <i>Dīgha Nikāya</i> by Maurice Walshe, London, 1987)
ThAp	<i>Therāpadāna</i>
ThiAp	<i>Therī-apadāna</i>

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## SOUTH ASIAN FLORA AS REFLECTED IN THE TWELFTH-CENTURY PĀLI LEXICON ABHIDHĀNAPPADĪPIKĀ

The *Abh*, the only ancient Pāli lexicon, was written by the Thera Moggallāna of the Vilgammula fraternity,<sup>1</sup> resident at the Jetavana mahāvihāra built by king Parākramabāhu I (1153–86) in Polonnaruwa (Sri Lanka).<sup>2</sup>

There is a difference of opinion as to whether the author of this lexicon was the same as the famous grammarian Moggallāna Thera who lived at the same time.<sup>3</sup> A convincing argument in favour of the theory that they were two different authors is that the grammarian belonged to the Uttoruḷamūla,<sup>4</sup> whereas the lexicographer belonged to the Sarogāmamūla. It is possible that the eminent Theras of the eight fraternities were living together at the great monastery Jetavana, where king Parākramabāhu I had built "eight costly pāsādas, three storeys high, for the Theras dwelling in the sacred district".<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Sarogāmamūla, identified by H.W. Codrington with modern Vilgammula in Laggala Pallēsiya Pattuva. See *Cūlavamsa*, Vol. I, p. 316, fn. 2.

The eight Buddhist fraternities (*mūla* = *āyatana*) which existed in medieval Sri Lanka were: Galaturumula (P. Selantaramūla), Kapārāmula, Uturumula (P. Uttoruḷamūla), Vādummula, Mahanetpāmula, Dakuṇumula (P. Dakkhināmūla), Senaratmula (P. Senāpatimūla) and Vilgammula. See M.B. Ariyapala, *Society in mediaeval Ceylon*, Colombo 1968 (reprint), pp. 233–34.

<sup>2</sup> See colophon of the *Abh* ed. Subhuti, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> D.M. de Z. Wickremasinghe (*Catalogue of the Sinhalese manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1900, p. xv) considered the two authors to be the same person whereas Buddhādatta (*Theravādi Baudhācāryayō*, Colombo 1960, pp. 85–87) and Geiger (*Pāli Literature and Language*, Tr. B. Ghosh, New Delhi 1978 (reprint), pp. 55–56) take them to be two different authors.

<sup>4</sup> The Tamil slab-inscription of the Veḷaikkāras, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II.6.254.

<sup>5</sup> *Cūlavamsa*, 78.33. The galaxy of Buddhist Elders who were patronised by king Parākramabāhu I were all great scholars, proficient especially in Sanskrit. For instance, Moggallāna Thera, the grammarian (whether he was or was not the